

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 SS-15 NSC-05 SP-02  
DHA-02 EUR-12 L-03 IO-13 TRSE-00 AID-05 INRE-00  
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PRS-01 EB-07 /083 W  
-----131432Z 048856 /46

O 131315Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY CONAKRY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3117

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CONAKRY 1012

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3  
TAGS: PDIP EAID  
SUBJECT: SEKOU TOURE WISHES PRIME MINISTER TO VISIT WASHINGTON  
NOW

REF: CONAKRY 0958; CONAKRY 1013

SUMMARY: PRIME MIN BEAVOGUI CONVOKED ME ON DIRECTION OF  
PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE WHO WISHES HIM TO LEAD DELEGATION  
TO WASHINGTON IN NEXT TEN DAYS. PURPOSE WOULD BE EXCHANGE  
OF VIEWS ON BILATERAL, AFRICAN AND GLOBAL ISSUES TO IMPROVE  
POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING. CLEARLY TOURE IS CONCERNED ABOUT  
HIS RELATIONS WITH CARTER ADMINISTRATION, PARTICULARLY FOR  
THE FIRST TIME ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND WANTS PM TO EXPLAIN  
GUINEAN VIEWPOINT. PM HAS NO NEW POLICY TO ANNOUNCE ON  
SOVIET FLIGHTS, ALTHOUGH HE IS AWARE THAT THIS AND HUMAN  
RIGHTS ARE THE TWO MAIN US CONCERNS. DESPITE THE BURDEN  
OF SUCH VISITS I RECOMMEND THAT WE ACCEPT DELEGATION IF  
POSSIBLE. SEKOU TOURE IS IN EFFECT OPENING A DIALOGUE ON  
HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS OFFERS EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY QUIETLY TO IM-  
PRESS GUINEANS WITH THE SINCERITY AND DEPTH OF US POLICIES  
ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AS WELL AS OUR  
CONCERN OVER SOVIET RECONNAISSANCE DEPLOYMENTS.  
GUINEAN MINISTERS WOULD ALSO SEE AT FIRST HAND PRESS AND  
PUBLIC INTEREST IN HUMAN RIGHTS. NOTE PM IS NOT RPT NOT  
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LEGAL HEAD OF GUINEAN GOVERNMENT, AND BRIEF VISIT COULD  
BE MANAGED WITHOUT UNDULY TAXING SENIOR US OFFICIALS.  
REQUEST EARLIEST POSSIBLE WASHINGTON REACTION. END SUMMARY.

1. PRIME MINISTER BEAVOGUI CONVOKED ME EVENING JUNE 11 WITH  
PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE'S PERSONAL ASSISTANT ALY BANGOURA  
PRESENT. HE SAID THAT CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAD DECIDED MINIS-

TERIAL DELEGATION SHOULD VISIT WASHINGTON NOW TO EXPLAIN GUINEAN POSITION ON BILATERAL, SOUTHERN AFRICAN AND GLOBAL ISSUES. HE NOTED THAT GOG DID NOT BELIEVE USG WAS INVOLVED IN CURRENT SPECIOUS ATTACK AGAINST GUINEA BY MITTERAND, INTERNATIONAL EAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (SEPTTEL). GOG WAS FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY PROGRESSIVE AND BROADLY LIBERAL HUMAN POLICIES OF CARTER ADMINISTRATION, ESPECIALLY TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND SEKOU TOURE WISHED STRENGTHEN BILATERAL RAPPORT. GOG HAD APPRECIATED PRESENCE OF US REP THOMAS SMITH AT PDG ANNIVERSARY CEREMONIES AND NOW WISHED TO PURSUE DISCUSSIONS AT HIGHER LEVEL.

2. PRESIDENT HAD NAMED PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF TO HEAD SENIOR DELEGATION OF MIN DOMAIN EDUCATION AND CULTURE MAMADI KEITA, MIN SOCIAL AFFAIRS JEANNE MARTIN CISSE, AND MINPLAN N'FALY SANGARE. HE NOTED DELEGATION WOULD THUS INCLUDE TWO MEMBERS (ONE THIRD) OF NATIONAL POLITICAL BUREAU. DELEGATION WISHED TO LEAVE "NEXT WEEK" IF POSSIBLE, SINCE GOG ATTACHED GREAT URGENCY TO IMPROVING UNDERSTANDING WITH US; PM MUST BE BACK IN CONAKRY BY LATE JUNE TO PREPARE TO REPRESENT GUINEA AT GABON OAU CONFERENCE. PM SAID HIS PURPOSE WAS TO HOLD BROAD EXCHANGE OF POLICY VIEWS IN SEARCH OF IMPROVED BILATERAL UNDERSTANDING. HE DID NOT INTEND TO NEGOTIATE ON AID MATTERS.

3. I REPLIED THAT HIGH-LEVEL MINISTERIAL VISITS REQUIRED CAREFUL PLANNING AND PREPARATION, AND THAT OUTCOME SHOULD REALLY BE MAPPED IN ADVANCE. FOR EXAMPLE, DID PM INTEND TO ANNOUNCE ANY CHANGE IN GUINEAN AUTHORIZATION OF SOVIET SUR-CONFIDENTIAL

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VEILLANCE DEPLOYMENTS, AN ISSUE HE KNEW TO BE OF DIRECT CONCERN TO USG (I MENTIONED THAT TU95'S WERE ONCE AGAIN AT CONAKRY AIRPORT)? PM SAID HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT, ALTHOUGH HE COULD PROMISE NO NEW ANNOUNCEMENT ON GUINEAN POLICY. I SAID I HOPED HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THESE DEPLOYMENTS WERE A CONTINUING OBSTACLE TO IMPROVED BILATERAL UNDERSTANDING. HE SAID HE KNEW THAT.

4. TURNING TO PRESIDENT TOURE'S REMARKABLE SPEECH OF JUNE 10 (SEPTTEL), I SAID ANY GUINEAN VISITOR TO WASHINGTON SHOULD EXPECT TO DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS SUBJECT WAS OF DEEP CONCERN TO THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. PM REPLIED WITH SOME FEELING THAT HE WAS QUITE AWARE OF THIS AND PARTICULARLY WISHED TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE. IF ANYBODY THOUGHT THAT TRAITORS AND INVADERS WOULD NOT BE PUNISHED SEVERELY IN GUINEA HE WAS MISTAKEN. I CITED AMERICAN CONCERN ABOUT ARBITRARY ACTIONS AND FOR WELFARE OF MANY EX-MINISTERS, E.G. KARIM BANGOURA WHO HAD BEEN WIDELY RESPECTED IN WASHINGTON.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3118

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CONAKRY 1012

5. THIS LAUNCHED US INTO A HALF-HOUR DISCUSSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. PM SAID THAT POLITICAL PRISONERS WERE RELEASED EACH NOVEMBER 22 AND MAY 14. FOR EXAMPLE, SOME 500 PRISONERS WERE AMNESTIED 14 MAY 77, MANY OF THEM POLITICAL. I URGED THAT GOG MAKE PUBLIC WHAT PRISONERS REMAINED, FOR WHAT CONDEMNED, WHERE THEY WERE KEPT AND HOW LONG THEY WOULD BE DETAINED; I URGED THAT GOG ANNOUNCE NAMES OF THOSE AMNESTIED AND EXPLAIN THE DIRECTION OF ITS POLICIES. HE SAID GOVERNMENT INTENDED GRADUALLY TO RELEASE AND TO REHABILITATE ALL BUT THE MOST TREASONOUS SENIOR OFFICIALS SUCH AS DIALLO TELLI AND KARIM BANGOURA. HE PROMISED TO GIVE ME A LIST OF THOSE RELEASED 14 MAY 77. PRESIDENT TOURE WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT REHABILITATION OF FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS. PM'S CONSCIENCE AND THAT OF GOG WAS CLEAR ON THIS MATTER AND HE WOULD BE PLEASED TO DISCUSS IT WITH THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. GUINEA WAS BEING SUBJECTED TO FALSE ATTACKS BY FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY AND UN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS.

6. I PROMISED TO REPORT HIS PROPOSED VISIT AND TO GIVE HIM WASHINGTON'S REACTION ASAP. I WARNED THAT SENIOR OFFICIALS HAD HEAVY WORKLOAD AT THIS TIME. I ALSO ANTICIPATED SOME RELUCTANCE TO ARRANGE OPENENDED SENIOR-LEVEL MEETINGS WHICH COULD PROVE INCONCLUSIVE OR EVEN COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE IN THE ABSENCE OF MOVEMENTS ON QUESTIONS OF DIRECT  
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INTEREST TO UNITED STATES. PM STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF PERSONAL CONTACT AND SAID PRESIDENT WAS DEEPLY AND PERSONALLY INVOLVED IN THIS INITIATIVE. HE SAID HE WOULD APPRECIATE MY EARLIEST RESPONSE AS HE WAS INSTRUCTED TO LEAVE IN A VERY FEW DAYS.

7. COMMENT: I BELIEVE THIS PROPOSAL IS SPARKED BY SEKOU TOURE'S CONCERN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS (SEE SEPTELS ON HIS DRAMATIC BREAK WITH FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY AND HIS STRONG REACTION TO DISCUSSIONS OF GUINEA IN UN). HE DOES NOT WANT US/GUINEAN RELATIONS TO FOUNDER ON THIS QUESTION; HE HAS HIGH HOPES FOR MAJOR US STEEL INVESTMENT AND FOR ADDITIONAL US FOOD AID. HE WANTS TO MAINTAIN CORRECT BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH US TO AVOID BECOMING OR APPEARING TO BE COMPLETE SOVIET STOOGES. HE RESPECTS CARTER ADMINISTRATION. NOTE THAT SEKOU TOURE IN HIS SPEECH AND PM WITH ME AVOIDED ANY MENTION OF ROLE OF FORMER US AMBASSADORS IN PUBLICIZING HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM.

8. I SEE TWO GENERAL OPTIONS FOR US: A) THAT I BE INSTRUCTED TO INFORM PM THAT WITHOUT MORE SPECIFIC AGENDA AND ADVANCE PREPARATION, AND WITHOUT THE PROSPECT OF A POSITIVE OUTCOME TO THESE DISCUSSIONS, PARTICULARLY IN THE ABSENCE OF EVOLUTION IN THE GUINEAN POSITION ON THE STRATEGIC QUESTION OF DIRECT INTEREST TO US, THAT US BELIEVES IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO ARRANGE HIGH LEVEL DISCUSSIONS AT SOME LATER DATE (I WOULD PREFER NOT TO EMPHASIZE BUSY SCHEDULES OF US OFFICIALS, SINCE THIS WOULD BE REGARDED AS GRATUITOUS PUT-DOWN BY TOURE); OR B) THAT I BE INSTRUCTED TO INFORM PM THAT WE AGREE A TOUR D'HORIZON WOULD BE USEFUL DESPITE OBVIOUS IMPEDIMENT TO CLOSE RELATIONS CAUSED BY MILITARY DEPLOYMENTS. MEETINGS ON SUCH SHORT NOTICE WITH SOME OFFICIALS MAY PROVE IMPOSSIBLE TO ARRANGE, BUT OTHERS WILL BE PLEASED TO RECEIVE PM AND WITH THIS UNDERSTANDING WE WOULD WELCOME PARTY FOR 2/3 DAY INFORMAL VISIT APPROXIMATELY JUNE --.

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9. RECOMMENDATION. ON BALANCE I FAVOR OPTION (B) AS PROVIDING USEFUL OPPORTUNITY FOR QUIET EXCHANGE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, ON US SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLICY, AND ON THE MILITARY ISSUE. I BELIEVE TOURE IS VERY ANXIOUS ABOUT HIS RELATIONS WITH US AND THAT SOME SLIGHT IMPROVEMENT IN GUINEAN POLICIES MAY BE OBTAINED IF US IS FRANK AND FIRM. A NEGATIVE US REPLY WOULD BE SEEN AS FORMAL REBUFF BY TOURE, WHO FEELS WE WITHDREW AN INVITATION FOR GUINEAN REPRESENTATION AT BICENTENNIAL AND THAT WE HAVE TURNED DOWN OTHER PROPOSED

VISITS. MUCH TIME OF SENIOR US OFFICIALS NEED NOT BE REQUIRED (NOTE PM IS NOT HEAD OF GOVERNMENT). WOULD ENVISAGE MEETINGS AT ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEVEL, POSSIBLY (BUT NOT NECESSARILY) CALL UPON VICE PRESIDENT AND/OR AMBASSADOR YOUNG TO DISCUSS SOUTHERN AFRICA ISSUES. MAIN PURPOSE WOULD BE TO IMPRESS GOG WITH SINCERITY AND DEPTH OF OUR VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE MILITARY DEPLOYMENT QUESTION AND TO SEEK EVOLUTION IN GUINEAN POLICIES. SHOULD AID COME UP WE WOULD POSTPONE DISCUSSION FOR LATER TREATMENT.

10. WOULD APPRECIATE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DEPT. REACTION SINCE A DELAY IN OUR RESPONSE WILL, RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, PROVIDE OFFENSE.  
HARROP

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**Review Markings:**  
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